



## Department of State

## TELEGRAM

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 TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR  
 SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE, MAY 21, 1974

FOR ANDERSON FROM KING

SUMMARY: TUESDAY MORNING NEWSPAPERS CARRY OPTIMISTIC REPORTS OF "GOOD PROGRESS" IN MIDEAST NEGOTIATIONS, SAY US RECONNAISSANCE TO BE DISCUSSED WITH SYRIANS TUESDAY. SAIKOWSKI HAS PIECE ON HAK'S NEGOTIATING TECHNIQUE. AFTERNOON WIRES REPORT INCREASED CAUTION ON STATEMENTS BY SENIOR US OFFICIAL.

1. NYT PAGE 1 ABOVE-FOLD STORY BY GWERTZMAN "KISSINGER MAKES 'GOOD PROGRESS' IN MIDEAST TALKS" REPORTS KEY PROBLEM OF DEFINING DISENGAGEMENT LINE "BUTTONED UP" FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES ACCORDING TO SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL. SAME OFFICIAL CAUTIONS NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE PROLONGED, SAYS HE WOULD BE "VERY SURPRISED" IF TWO SIDES DO NOT CONCLUDE AGREEMENT BUT DOES NOT RULE OUT LONGER PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS. HAK INSISTS HE MUST RETURN TO WASHINGTON BY NEXT WEEKEND, TELLS AIDES SECRETARY OF STATE SHOULD NOT SPEND SO MUCH TIME AWAY FROM WASHINGTON. GWERTZMAN REPORTS AMERICAN SIDE RELUCTANT TO GET INTO DETAILS OF PROPOSALS BEING NEGOTIATED SINCE HAK FEELS AS MEDIATOR HE CANNOT AFFORD TO DISCLOSE NEGOTIATING POSITIONS. GWERTZMAN COMMENTS ON RESERVE EVINced BY AMERICAN PARTY, SAYS ONE CANNOT ASCERTAIN WHETHER THIS A RESULT OF NORMAL CAUTION OR INDICATION DETAILS WILL TAKE LONGER TO WORK OUT.

2. BERGER LEADS PAGE 14 POST WITH OPTIMISTIC REPORT FROM DAMASCUS UNDER HEAD "KISSINGER REPORTS 'GOOD PROGRESS' IN SYRIAN TALKS," SAYS SENIOR US OFFICIAL BELIEVES SEPARATION LINE AGREED TO FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES AND REMAINING DIFFERENCES "MANAGEABLE." SAME OFFICIAL SAYS QUESTION OF US RECONNAISSANCE TO BE DISCUSSED TUESDAY, NEGOTIATIONS COULD STILL GET "HUNG UP" ON TECHNICAL ISSUES. BERGER REPORTS HAK KEEPS UP PRESSURE ON BOTH SIDES THROUGH OPTIMISTIC STATEMENTS AND TIME LIMIT ON RETURN TO WASHINGTON. SAYS HE BANKS ON DOMESTIC INVESTMENT EACH SIDE HAS MADE TO

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# DISENGAGEMENT LINE.

3. O'LEARY STORY APPEARS PAGE 2 STAR LEADING US PROPOSAL FOR AMERICAN AERIAL SURVEILLANCE OVER DISENGAGEMENT LINE UNDER HEAD "US TO PROPOSE POLICING OF GOLAN." SAYS HAK WILL INITIATE PROPOSAL IN SYRIA TUESDAY. SENIOR OFFICIAL SAYS DISENGAGEMENT LINE "BUTTONED UP" FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, REMAINING DIFFICULTIES MINOR. REPORTS STRONG STATEMENTS BY MEIR AND DAYAN AGAINST ARAB TERRORISTS.

4. JHABVALA HAS PAGE 1 STORY "KISSINGER TURNS TO DETAILS OF GOLAN PLAN" REPORTING NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ENTERED NEW PHASE. SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL EXPRESSES HOPE THAT SINCE EACH SIDE HAS STAKED EFFORT AND PRESTIGE IN SECURING LINE, BOTH NOW READY TO MAKE FURTHER CONCESSIONS. SAME OFFICIAL WARNS TASK AHEAD TEDIOUS AND DIFFICULT WITH UNFORTUNATE TURNS POSSIBLE BEFORE AGREEMENT SECURED. US OFFICIAL SAYS PART OF PROBLEM LIES IN FACT SYRIA HAS NOT DONE STAFF WORK AND LEADERSHIP MAY HAVE "CONNIPTIONS" OR JUST FREEZE WHEN APPROACHING SECONDARY PROBLEMS. JHABVALA REPORTS US OFFICIAL CIRCUMSPECT IN RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FROM NEWSMEN, REFUSING TO GO INTO DETAIL. US OFFICIAL SAYS HAK RETURNING TO WASHINGTON THIS WEEKEND NO MATTER WHERE TALKS STAND.

5. SAIKOWSKI PIECE APPEARS PAGE 1 "KISSINGER PUSHES AHEAD WITH MIDEAST ACCORD" (PIX OF HAK AT PRESS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON) WITH REPORT AMERICAN OFFICIALS INDICATE GREAT DEAL OF "NITTY GRITTY DETAIL" TO BE WORKED OUT ON SECONDARY ISSUES BEFORE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT COMPLETED. SAIKOWSKI DELINEATES THREE BROAD CATEGORIES IN PACKAGE: AGREEMENT ITSELF STIPULATING LINE OF DEMARCATION, BUFFER ZONE, LIMITATION OF FORCES, UN PRESENCEJW PRISONER OF WAR EXCHANGE; PROTOCOLS DEALING IN GREATER DETAIL WITH SPECIFIC POINTS SUCH AS THINNING OUT OF FORCES AND MOVEMENT OF CIVILIANS; AND CERTAIN "UNDERSTANDINGS" OR "ASSURANCES" WHICH US WILL CONVEY TO ONE SIDE REGARDING WHAT ACTIONS

THE OTHER WILL UNDERTAKE. SENIOR US OFFICIAL SAYS MAIN PROBLEM NOW TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT ON LIMITATION OF FORCES DESPITE UNCERTAINTY OVER SYRIAN STAFF WORK ON SUBJECT. COMPANION ARTICLE BY SAIKOWSKI PAGE 1 "HOW THE SECRETARY NEGOTIATES" LEADS AS FOLLOWS: "HE DOES NOT CAJOLE, DEMAND, OR PRESSURE. RATHER DOES HE ANALYZE, REASON, AND PERSUADE BY THE FORCE OF LOGIC." TOP AIDES SAY HAK EXTREMELY ANALYTICAL, MAINTAINS SENSE OF PERSONAL DETACHMENT FROM PROBLEM AT HAND, TRIES TO GET EACH SIDE TO PERCEIVE THE THINKING OF THE OTHER, GIVES EACH SIDE ARGUMENTS IT CAN USE IN DEFENDING ANY CONCESSION. SENSE OF HUMOR ALSO IMPORTANT, BUT SECRET OF HIS SUCCESS LIES IN FACT HE NEVER GIVES UP.

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6. AP REPORTS INCREASED CAUTION AND RESTRAINT IN US AND ISRAELI ASSESSMENTS OF PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS. PERES SAYS CERTAIN ISSUES, INCLUDING DISENGAGEMENT LINE, NOT YET FULLY WORKED OUT. SENIOR US OFFICIAL SAYS FINAL SETTLEMENT DEPENDS ON RESOLUTION OF PRINCIPAL ISSUES OTHER THAN DISENGAGEMENT LINE. SAME OFFICIAL SAYS HAK AND ASSAD DISCUSS COMPOSITION OF UN FORCES TO OCCUPY DEMILITARIZED ZONE, THINNING OUT OF TROOPS BEHIND THE ZONE, PRISONER EXCHANGE. AIDES SAY HAK PLANS DAILY SHUTTLES UNTIL FRIDAY, WILL RETURN TO WASHINGTON FRIDAY OR SATURDAY SINCE HE FEELS HE SHOULD NOT BE AWAY FROM STATE DEPARTMENT MORE THAN FOUR WEEKS.

7. UPI ALSO REPORTS MORE CAUTIOUS STATEMENTS FROM US OFFICIALS. HIGH AMERICAN OFFICIAL CAUTIONS MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA "NOT YET IN THE BAG." ISRAELI PAPERS SPECULATE AGREEMENT COULD BE INITIALED THURSDAY AND SIGNED NEXT WEEK IN GENEVA. HAK REPORTEDLY DETERMINED TO FLY HOME THIS WEEKEND. HIGH AMERICAN OFFICIAL SAYS NO HAND UP IN NEGOTIATIONS BUT UPI REPORTS HAK COVERING ALL BETS BY HAVING AMERICAN OFFICIALS CAUTION THERE STILL COULD BE WITH POSSIBILITY NEGOTIATIONS RESUMED LATER.

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